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A NEW

TEST

OF THE

Church of *England*'s Loyalty:

OR,

Whiggish Loyalty

AND

Church Loyalty

COMPAR'D.

Daniel Defoe

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A NEW

TEST

OF THE

Church of *England*'s Loyalty.

IN all the unhappy Contentions among Parties and Factions in this brangling Nation, the Champions of the Church of *England*, *as they wou'd have themſelves call'd*, have laid it down as the diſtinguiſhing Mark of their Hierarchy, that it is her Practice, and has been deriv'd from her very Conſtitution, as well as Doctrine, to fix in all her Members Principles of unſhaken Loyalty to her Prince, entire and undiſputed Obedience to all her Commands, and an Abhorrence of the very Thoughts of thoſe Helliſh Principles, *That it can be lawful on any Account whatſoever to reſiſt the eſtabliſh'd Power of their Kings.*

'Twou'd be endleſs to quote the Reverend Dr. *B---ge*, who from the Text in the

Reſiſt not the Powers, &c. *for whatſoever Powers are, be ordained of God; whoſoever therefore reſiſteth the Power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God*; tells us, 'That if the King ſhou'd by his 'Royal Command execute the greateſt Vio-'lence upon either our Perſon or Eſtate, our 'Duty was to ſubmit by Prayers and Tears firſt 'to God Almighty, to turn the Wrath of His 'Vicegerent from His Servant, and by hum-'ble Entreaty to beg his Majeſties Grace and 'Pardon; but *to lift up the Hand againſt the 'Lord's Anointed, or reſiſt the Evil of Puniſh-'ment he thought fit to inflict*, this were a 'Crime unpardonable either before God or 'Man, and a Crime, (ſays the Reverend Dr.) 'which we bleſs God the very Principles of 'our *Ever Loyal Mother*, the Church of *Eng-'land*, abhors and deteſts.

'Let Incendiaries, Phanaticks, and Bloody 'Peace-breaking Whigs (ſays another Learned 'Divine) nouriſh the Vip'rous Principles of 'Treaſon and Rebellion, and let them meet the 'due Reward of their Factious Doings in the 'Reſentments of a Righteous, but Provok'd, 'Nation: But God be praiſed, our Mother the 'Church of *England* has always brought up

'her

'her Sons in an unſpotted Loyalty and Obedi-
'ence; none have been found lifting up their
'Hands againſt their Soveraign, or poſſeſſing
'the Rights of the Anointed of God, *&c.*

'The very Being and Life, the Original and
'Principles of the Church of *England*, (ſays a-
'nother 30th of *January* Sermon) is Loyalty
'and Fidelity to God as the Immediate Su-
'pream, and to the King as the lively Image
'of Divine Authority, whoſe Power is imme-
'diately deriv'd from, holds of, and is accoun-
'table to none but to God Himſelf.

To avoid Prolixity of Quotation, the Reader is deſir'd to accept of theſe as ſufficient Proofs of what I lay down *upon this Condition*; *nevertheleſs*, that beſides the general Appeal which I might make to the Memory of moſt Men, I oblige my ſelf upon Demand to produce Ten Thouſand fair Quotations out of the Writings of our late Modern Authors ſince the Reſtauration; wherein the Doctrines of Non-reſiſtance of Princes, Paſſive Obedience, and the Divine Authority of the Kingly *P*ower, is own'd and declar'd to be an Eſſential *P*art of the *P*rofeſſion and *P*ractice of the Church of *England*; and upon this Foot, which I hold to be ſufficient, I think I cannot be cenſured if I take it for granted.

Now, as this too much divided Nation has always been compos'd of two contending Parties, those Parties have been distinguish'd, *as in like Cases*, by Names of Contempt; and tho' they have often chang'd them on either side, as Cavalier and Roundhead, Royalists and Rebels, Malignants and *Phanaticks*, Tories and Whigs, yet the Division has always been barely *the Church and the Dissenter*, and there it continues to this Day.

As the Church of *England Party* have boasted of their own Loyalty, so they have branded the Dissenter with Rebellion and Faction, not only in their Nature, but in their very Principles; they have laid it down in their Writings and Sermons, and Multitudes of their ignorant Hearers believe it, that *the very Doctrine of the Dissenter is made up of Principles in their own Nature, tending to Confusion and Rebellion*; they wont be content that we shou'd own there may be Men among all *Parties* of bad Designs, and who wou'd on all Occasions embroil their Native Country, but it must be woven with the very Articles of Faith, and that 'tis the Religion of a Dissenter to disturb Government, kill Kings, and oppose Laws.

'The

'The Phanatical Enemies of our King and 'Church (ſays the Learned Dr. *P----n*) drink 'in Rebellion as Water; 'tis the very Sub-'ſtance of their Schiſmatical Doctrine to over-'whelm and deſtroy; and Commonwealths 'and Confuſions are the Doctrines they 'preach.

He that lays out one Groat with a Diſſenter (ſays the worthy Sir *Roger* in one of his famous *Obſervators*) contributes juſt ſo much as the Profits of that Groat amounts to in Trade towards the Subverſion of the Monarchy, and erecting a Commonwealth; for the very Nature and Tendency of their Profeſſion is deſtructive of Kingly Power, and the Government of the Nation.

This has been the Opinion of the Church of *England*, both of themſelves on one Hand, and of the Diſſenters on the other Hand. I ſhou'd be glad if I cou'd only ſay, *It has been*, for we find 'tis ſtill too much their Opinion.

Let no Man ſay that the Author of theſe Sheets is either widening or keeping unheal'd the Breaches of this Nation; for if I can make it appear that there is really no Occaſion of ſuch unnatural Diviſions; and that neither the extraordinary Opinion of themſelves, nor the Contempt of their Neighbours, as to

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the Matter of Loyalty, is a becoming Principle; no, nor a rational one neither: For that as to Loyalty, Paſſive Obedience, Non-reſiſtance, *&c.* there is really no great Difference between one ſide or other. I go as far towards healing the Breach as any Man; for there can be no better way to end the Strife on both Sides, than to prove that neither Side has any juſt Cauſe to contend.

To examine the Matter on both Sides ſeems very uſeful at this time, in order to reconcile Parties, and to ſettle the Univerſal Character of the Nation.

The Government of *England* is a limited Monarchy, compoſed of King, Lords and Commons. Each have their ſeveral, their ſeparate, and their conjunctive Powers; which acting in Concert, make the Harmony of the Conſtitution. I ſhall not invade the Province of thoſe learned Gentlemen, who have undertaken to ſet forth the Branches of the Conſtitution in all their Powers, Limitations and Prerogatives: 'Tis enough to ſay the Conſtitution is known, the Government is confin'd by Laws, the Crown limited by Statutes, and the People's Right confirm'd by the Conceſſion of Ages.

To this Government, all Diſtinction of Names ſet apart, I am of the Opinion all Parties have in their Turns been equally Loyal: I was going to ſay, equally Diſloyal: And if I were to uſe the Language of late Times, it wou'd be a very proper way of ſpeaking.

Affirming without demonſtrating is an abſurd way of arguing, and therefore it will be needful to come to Particulars, and to examine the ſeveral Acts and Deeds of both *Parties* when the Kingly *Prerogative* has ſhock'd or claſh'd with the People.

In order to this 'tis needful to examine the Date of the Difference, and ſo to enter a little into Hiſtory.

Our firſt Reformation from *Popery* was in the Days of King *Edward* the VI. I call it the firſt, becauſe 'twas under him that the whole Nation and the Government embrac'd the *Proteſtant* Reform'd Religion; this *Proteſtant* Religion was eſtabliſh'd by *that Zealous King*, and by his *Parliament*, back'd with the Force of Laws, and confirm'd by all the Sanction of Authority it was capable of, and here it began to be call'd the Church of *England*.

Some enquiring Chriſtians were for making farther Steps, and carrying on the Reforma-

tion

tion to a higher Degree; and if that good reforming King had liv'd, his Zeal and Integrity was ſuch, that there was no doubt he wou'd have gone on to perfect every thing he had begun, as new Light or more Knowledge had encreaſed; but the Return of *Popery* under Queen *Mary* put a Stop to the Work in general, and went very far towards overturning the whole Structure of the Reformation.

Queen *Elizabeth* reſtor'd it again; but as ſhe was a Zealous *Proteſtant* Queen, yet ſhe was not for ſubjecting the Reformation to any Amendment. Not that ſhe believ'd it perfect; but ſhe was a *Politick Princeſs*, ſurrounded with Enemies that were not to be dally'd with, and ſhe was loth to ſuppoſe ſuch Defects in the Reformation as were alledg'd, becauſe 'twas to leſſen the Reputation of it, and conſequently her Intereſt in the World.

Thoſe who inſiſted upon the further Reformation were then call'd *Puritans*, becauſe they ſet up for a greater Purity of Worſhip, and they ſeparated themſelves from the eſtabliſh'd Church, becauſe, as they ſaid, their Conſciences inform'd them they cou'd ſerve God more agreeable to his Will.

I shall not meddle with the Arguments made use of on both Sides, either to defend or expose this Principle; 'tis sufficient to acquaint my Reader that this is the true Original of the Dissenters: We are now to examine a little further back. Before this Reformation there was no such thing as Church of *England*; it was then the Church of *Rome* that was the establish'd National Church.

The *Protestants* under the Titles of *Lollards*, *Wickliffians*, *Hussites*, &c. what did they do? Did they, *as our Modern People say every Body shou'd*, conform to what the Government commanded? No, the present Church of *England* Party were the Dissenters, the Schismaticks and Phanaticks, in the Days of King *Henry* VIII. were persecuted for not coming to Church; many of them put to Death, and always treated with Scorn and Contempt, as Enemies to the Government, Broachers of new Opinions, and Contemners of Authority; as in the Case of that famous Proto-Martyr of Christ's Church, *John Lambert*, and others.

In the next Ages these come to have the Power in their Hands, and forgetting that they had found it *righteous in the Sight of God to obey God rather than Man*, they treat those whose Consciences oblige them to dissent from them, with the same Contempt which themselves had receiv'd from the *Roman* Government.

Thus far they are upon even Terms, as to Obedience to their Superiors.

The Diſſenters have the firſt Occaſion after this to ſhow their Submiſſion under extraordinary Preſſures. Queen *Elizabeth* diſcountenanc'd them continually; and as good a Queen as ſhe was, put ſome of them to Death. King *James* I. hunted them quite out of the Kingdom, made Thouſands of them fly into *Holland* and *Germany*, and at laſt to *New-England*.

During the long Reign of theſe two Princes we find no Charge of Treaſon or Rebellion upon them; they bore the Diſpleaſure of their Princes with Patience and Paſſive Obedience; *if I may be allow'd that Ridiculous Phraſe*; being perſecuted in one City, they fled to another; they bore illegal Proſecutions, and things contrary to their Right, as *Engliſh* Men, but never took up Arms againſt their Prince.

Under the Reign of King *Charles* I. the Caſe alter'd, the King and Parliament fell out about Matters of Civil Right, and Invaſion of the Liberty and Properties of the People, the *Puritans* or Diſſenters, call them what we pleaſe, fell in unanimouſly with the Parliament.

And here 'tis worthy Remark, that the firſt Difference between the King and the

Engliſh

Engliſh Parliament did not reſpect Religion, but Civil *P*roperty; nor were the Majority of the Houſe *Puritans*, but true Church *P*roteſtants, and *Engliſh* Men; who ſtood upon the Rights of the People, as *Engliſh* Men; and none were more Zealous in the firſt Diſputes than the Lord *Digby*, Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, and ſuch as were afterwards deep Sufferers for the King.

But the Parliament finding the Puritan Party ſtuck cloſe to their Cauſe, they alſo came over to them when things came to a Rupture, and ſo the War begun on the Score of Right, Invaſion of Liberty, Breach of the Laws, *P*rivate Leagues, and Male Adminiſtration; a Game we have ſeen play'd over again by the very ſame Church of *England* that have exclaim'd ſo much againſt it; ſo damn'd it, and ſo damn'd themſelves, by Oaths, Declarations, Teſts, and God knows what, againſt it.

'Tis allow'd here the Puritan broke thro' his Loyalty, and his former Obedience, and fought his Way to the Liberty he demanded. Well, the War ended to his Advantage, he ſubdued his Soveraign, and brought him to the Block, to the Aſtoniſhment of the whole World.

I wont diſpute here which or which Party did or did not do it, but to give the Enemy

all juſt Advantage, I am willing to grant it in the largeſt Sence that the Diſſenters, or Phanaticks, or Whigs, call them as you pleaſe, did embrue their Hands in the Blood of the Lord's Anointed, put to Death that bleſſed Martyr, King *Charles* the I. whom a learned Divine, in a Sermon on the 30th of *January*, before the Parliament, compares both in the manner of his Sufferings, and the People by whom, to our Saviour and the Jews, and boldly runs on in the Blaſphemous Parallel, to ſhew that the Indignities and Sufferings of King *Charles* exceed thoſe of Jeſus Chriſt.

I think I have granted as largely as a fair Adverſary can deſire; for I have yeilded for Peace-ſake to ſeveral things which I cou'd fairly diſprove.

Nor ſhall I return to a Repetition of the ill Uſage the Diſſenters have receiv'd from the contrary Party on this Account for above 30 Years; the conſtant Reproaches they and their Children after them have met with from thoſe Gentlemen, who on all Occaſions have (as I hinted before) particularly taken care to extol their own unſhaken Fidelity to their Prince, till at laſt an Occaſion preſents to touch them in the ſame moſt ſenſible Part, *their Right and Property*; and *alas!* their Loyalty, what became of it? Truly the *Faithful*,

ful, Passively Obedient, Unshakenly Loyal Church, return'd to the Original Nature of their Neighbours, and did the same thing exactly which the Whigs, *the Factious Rebellious Whigs*, had done before.

'No, that's false, (says a Disciple of Dr. *Sherlock*'s) we did not kill our King, we did 'not dip our Hands in Royal Blood, nor 'hurt the Lord's Anointed.

No, that's true, but the Lord's Anointed may thank himself for that; for my part I think the Difference only lyes here; the Whigs in 41. to 48. took up Arms against their King; and having conquer'd him, and taken him *Prisoner*, cut off his Head, *because they had him*: The Church of *England* took Arms against their King in 88. and did not cut off his Head, *because they had him not*. King *Charles* lost his Life, *because he did not run away*; and his Son, King *James*, sav'd his Life, *because he did run away*.

'Tis such a Jest, such a Banter, to say, We did take up Arms, but we did not kill him: *Bless us, kill our King, we wou'd not have hurt a Hair of his Head!* Why, every Bullet shot at the Battel of the *Boyne* was a killing the King; for if you did not, 'twas because you cou'd not hit him.

If a Highwayman fires at you upon the Road, when he is taken, and brought upon his

his Trial, our learned Recorder, before he pronounces Sentence of Death, harangues him in this manner: *And beſides all this, Sir, you are plainly guilty of Murther; for you not only aſſaulted this honeſt Man, in order to take away his Money, but you endeavour'd to murther him; for you ſhot at him, in order to kill him; and the Intention of Murther is equally Criminal in the Eyes of God with the Act it ſelf.*

Now who did we ſhoot at at the *Boyne*? *'Tis true, King* James *generally ſtood out of the way*; but who did we ſhoot at? What! was our Orders to *fight againſt both ſmall and great, and not againſt the King of* Iſrael? Had your Bullets Commiſſion to ſhew their Loyalty, and not to touch the Lord's Anointed? If he had charg'd in the firſt Squadrons of his Horſe, had you not kill'd him if you cou'd? I think this needs no further *Proof.*

Nay, if Arguments may be allow'd to have equal Weight on both Sides, the Whigs have been the honeſter of the two; for they never profeſt any ſuch blind, abſolute and undiſputed Obedience to Princes as the others have done.

It has always been their Opinion, That Government was originally contrived by the Conſent, and for the mutual Benefit of the Parties Govern'd, that the *People* have an Original Native Right to their Property, the Liberty of their

their Perſons and Poſſeſſions, *unleſs forefaulted to the Laws*, that they cannot be diveſted of this Right but by their own Conſent, and that all Invaſion of this Right is deſtructive of the Conſtitution, and diſſolves the Compact of Government and Obedience.

They have always declar'd, That they underſtand their Allegiance to their Governors to be, *ſuppoſing they govern them according to the Laws of the Land*; and that if Princes break this Bond of Government, the Nature of it is inverted, and the Conſtitution ceaſes of courſe.

Buchanan in *Scotland*, *Algernoon Sidney* in *England*, have ſet their Names, *and the latter his Blood*, to this Doctrine, and the Author of the *True-born Engliſhman* is worth quoting in the Caſe.

The Government's ungirt when Juſtice dies,
And Conſtitutions are Non-Entities:
The Nation's all a Mob, there's no ſuch thing
As Lords or Commons, Parliament or King:
A great promiſcuous Crowd the Hydra lyes,
Till Laws revive, and mutual Contract ties:
A Chaos free to chuſe for their own Share,
What Caſe of Government they pleaſe to wear.
If to a King they do the Reins commit,
All Men are bound in Conſcience to ſubmit;

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But

But then that King must by his Oath assent
To Postulata's of the Government.
Which if he breaks, he cuts off the Entail,
And Power retreats to its Original.
True-born Englishman, *P.* 74.

This has been the avow'd Doctrine of the Dissenters, and is indeed the true Sence of the Constitution it self; pursuant to this Doctrine they thought they had a Right to oppose Violence with Force; believing that when Kings break Coronation Oaths, the Solemn Compact with their People, and encroach upon their Civil Rights, contrary to the Laws of the Land, by which they are sworn to Rule, they cease to be the Lord's Anointed any longer, the Sanction of their Office is vanish'd, and they become Tyrants and Enemies of Mankind, and may be treated accordingly.

Now 'tis no wonder to find People of these Principles vigorously withstanding their Governors, when they tread upon the tender fore Places of the Constitution; 'tis nothing but what they all along pretended to, and declar'd to be their Opinion.

But to find the Church of *England*-Men, whose Loyalty has been the Subject of a Thousand Learned Authors, and numberless Sermons,

mons, whoſe Character and Mark of Diſtinction has been choſen more for her ſteddy Adherence and Fidelity to her *Prince* than to God Almighty; whoſe Obedience to her Monarch has been declar'd to be Inviolate and Immovable; and who pretends to be Famous thro' the whole World for her Faithfulneſs to Kings; *for her*, as ſoon as ever the King did but, as it were, ſeem to aim at cruſhing her Authority, as ſoon as he did but begin to call her Clergy to an Account, and clap up her *Golden Candleſticks* for Diſobedience; *for her* to winch and kick, fly to foreign *Princes* for Protection, and riſe in Arms againſt her *Prince*, O *Pelin*! O *Brady*! O *Sherlock*! O *Hominem*! O *Mores*!

Where's the worthy Dr. *B------ge*'s Loyalty now? His Immovable Loyalty, that after all his Abſolute Submiſſion is ſo far from being a Martyr to his own Doctrine, that he cou'd not loſe a ſmall Benefice for it?

Where is the Famous Dr. *S-----k*? Who having ſtood out long in his old antiquated Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience, and confirm'd the Faith of his Suff'ring Brethren, by ſtrong and wonderful Arguments, at laſt, at the powerful Inſtigation of a Wife, and a good Sallary, *has Sold all his Loyalty for a Meſs of Pottage*, ſolving his Honeſty with the wretched Diſtinction of a Power *De Facto*, and a Power

De Jure, as if the Church of *England*'s Credit cou'd be ſav'd by ſuch an impotent Shift, or as if he cou'd make Amends to the *Prebendary* for his helping him to Sacrifice his Brethren to Father his Converſion upon reading honeſt Dr. *Overall*, whoſe Doctrine, 'tis well known, the Doctor knew before; but that he was loth Dr. *South* ſhou'd have the Honour of bringing him over to ſuch Old *Phanatick* Principles?

Behold the Loyalty of the Church of *England*; now let's examine their Conſcience, as to taking Oaths; and if I do not bring them to be all Whigs, and *Forty-One-Men*, or elſe prove them all Perjur'd, then I do nothing.

The Clergy, all the Magiſtrates and Officers of the Houſhold, of the Civil or Military Government, were Members of the Church of *England*, otherwiſe they cou'd not be employ'd; the Sacramental Teſt has done the Diſſenters this Kindneſs, that 'tis plain all the Managing Hands in the Kingdom were Diſciples of the Church; and as an additional Circumſtance, the Oath of Allegiance which they took, and which was (God be praiſed) of their own making, bound them to that ſame Abſolute Blind Obedience which they profeſt, and confin'd it to the King, his Heirs and Succeſſors.

If this Oath be conſider'd literally, I am content to be ſilenc'd, when one fair Argument can be brought to evade it; the Declaration follow'd it, wherein they deteſt and abhor that deviliſh Doctrine, that 'tis lawful *on any Pretence whatſoever*, (*Mark the Emphaſis*) to take up Arms againſt the King; this (*equal to an Oath*) is declar'd in the *Preſence* of God; and the Particulars being material to our Purpoſe, are as follows:

I A. B. *do Declare and Believe that it is not Lawful upon any Pretence whatſoever to take up Arms againſt the King; and that I do abhor that Traiterous Poſition of taking Arms by his Authority againſt thoſe that are commiſſioned by him.*

So help me God.

Notwithſtanding this, you have taken up Arms againſt, depoſed, and as far as you were able, put to Death your lawful King, the very King you ſwore Allegiance to.

Now *pray Gentlemen give Commiſſion to ſome worthy Champion of your Church's Loyalty to bring you fairly off of your Oath and Declaration if you can*; and till you do, be not angry with us for making one of theſe Concluſions from the *Premiſes*, and you ſhall chuſe for your ſelves.

First, That this Doctrine of Absolute, Passive and Non-resistant Obedience, is an Absurdity in it self, contradictory to the Nature of Government and Allegiance, and politically introduc'd by State Engines into the Church of *England*, to abuse her, and betray her Members into unforeseen Mischiefs and Inconveniences.

Or, *Secondly*, That the Members of the Church of *England* are all Apostates from the very Fundamental Doctrine of their Church, Perjur'd in the Sight of God and Man, Notorious Hypocrites, and Deceivers; who having sworn Obedience without Reserve to their Prince, are become Traitors, Rebels, and Murtherers of the Lord's Anointed, and their Lawful Soveraign; and not having the Fear of God before their Eyes, have depos'd and traiterously dethron'd their Rightful King, God Almighty's Vicegerent, accountable to no Earthly Power, Supream under God, Absolute, and from Divine Institution, Undoubted Sole Lord of them and their Country.

Or, *Lastly*, That they only are the true Church of *England*, who according to their avow'd Profession, have firmly adher'd to their King in all his Sufferings and Solitude, have never blacken'd their Consciences, nor gone back from their Obedience, forgotten their Oaths, nor sullied their Reputation with

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the horrid Crimes of Treaſon and Rebellion, as they think it to be.

Now, as a fair Diſputant, I am willing the Reſpondent ſhall chuſe which of theſe three Conſequences he will ſtand by in Behalf of the Church of *England*'s Loyalty; but if they wou'd take the Advice of *a Friend to the Honeſt Part of them*, I wou'd recommend the firſt Concluſion to be fitteſt for them for the following Reaſon.

1. Becauſe ſince Humane Infallibility is (*and with good Reaſon*) diſown'd by the Church of *England*, both for her ſelf and every Body elſe, it can be no Diminution to her Reputation, when ſhe has found her ſelf miſtaken, and impos'd upon, to acknowledge her Error; *a wiſe Man will always own, rather than defend, a Miſtake.*

2. Becauſe 'tis my Opinion that their Way is hedg'd up againſt any other Pretence, Evaſion, or Reſervation, and therefore 'tis with me the only thing that Charity can ſay for them, and muſt remain ſo, till I find ſomething elſe ſaid that is more to the Purpoſe.

But the Miſchief of all is, that if this be honeſtly acknowledg'd (*as is doubtleſs moſt true*) that the Church of *England* was miſtaken, and impos'd upon, to eſpouſe a Senſleſs Abſurd Principle, contrary to the Nature of

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Government and Allegiance, *&c.* why then they come over to this Conſequence.

That Government and Allegiance are both Conditional, and Oaths of Subjects are always to be conſider'd in a Conſtructive Sence, with Conditions of Protection, and the like; a thing which is without queſtion the real Meaning of all Oaths of Allegiance; otherwiſe Subjects may be put under an abſolute Neceſſity of Perjury, or State Martyrdom, by often ſwearing what may be impoſſible for them to perform.

The Town of *Aeth* in *Flanders* has been about 6 times, and the Town of *Rhinebergh* in *Gueldre* about 12 times, taken and retaken; and as often as new Maſters had Poſſeſſion of the Place, ſo often the poor Inhabitants have ſworn to their new Lords: What can the Meaning of ſuch an Oath be, but that they will be faithful to them ſo long as they keep Poſſeſſion of the Place? 'Twou'd be ridiculous to imagine the Impoſers of the Oath requir'd any more.

If our Zealous Churchmen worded an Oath contrary to the very Nature of Swearing Allegiance, let them anſwer for it who firſt made it, then took it, then broke it: But the Nature of the thing can leave Room for no other Suggeſtion that I know of.

Till

Till then ſome further Argument is produc'd, it muſt reſt here, that the Church of *England* was Miſtaken, Impoſed upon, *&c.* that ſhe finds when the Laws are Broken, the Right of the People Invaded, the Root of the Government Struck at, Church and State Undermin'd, and Deſpotick Tyranny at the Door, the Native Right of the *People* is Superior, and they may aſſume a Power to Right themſelves.

And ſo we are brought back to Whiggiſm and 41; *and, Gentlemen, there is no Remedy for it, help it if ye can.*

Where now is the Difference between Church Loyalty, and Whiggiſh Loyalty, Roundhead or Cavalier, Churchman or Diſſenter, Whig or Tory? All are alike; they are pleas'd, when legally Govern'd; Quarrelſome and Unruly, if Oppreſt; and will Defend themſelves, if Aſſaulted; tho' it be by their Kings, or any Body elſe.

Why then is the Difference kept up? Methinks they might all be Friends together, for they are all alike; the Diſſenters have been in their times as Loyal, and the Church of *England* in their time as Diſloyal as one another. *Vice verſa*; the Diſſenters have been as Diſloyal, and the Churchmen as Loyal as one another upon the ſame Occaſion; they have been both Sufferers, and have ſubmitted

to

to the Government; ay, and to the Oppreſſions and Perſecutions of their Superiors and Soveraigns; and again, upon the like Occaſions, they have both of them been Rebels, *if their own Language may ſo far be us'd*; they have both of them, in their Turn, taken Arms againſt, and depos'd their Rightful and Lawful Kings.

So that in my Opinion, *with a Latitude to all that think otherwiſe to think as they pleaſe*, the Church of *England*, and their Neighbours the Diſſenters, have nothing to quarrel with one another about, as to Loyalty; as to other Matters I have nothing to ſay to them, nor ſhall not mingle it with this Diſcourſe.

Nor do I think I am writing a Satyr againſt the Church of *England*, nor is it at all intended to be ſo; and to ſtop all Pretences that way, I take the Freedom to ſay here has been no Crime, the Church of *England* has been in the right of it; not in taking Arms, but the Error was in Eſpouſing, Crying up, and Pretending to a Blind Abſolute Obedience to Princes, be their Commands never ſo Abſolute, Tyrannical or Illegal; this neither the Doctrine nor Practice of the Church of *England*, nor of any Church or People in the Chriſtian World, ever pretended to; and therefore the Fault lay in thoſe People, who being them-

themſelves Members of the Church of *England*, ſuffer'd themſelves to be deluded by State Miniſters, to foſter a Tenent upon the Church which her Original Conſtitution never pretended to, and then call it the Doctrine of the Church of *England*.

The firſt beginning of their pretended Doctrine was found in *Manwaring*'s and *Sibthorp*'s Libels, in the Days of King *Charles* I. cajoling the King; and then to pleaſe him, endeavouring to wheedle the People into a Belief of the Divine Right of Kingly Government; and affirming, that the King was not oblig'd by the Laws in the Adminiſtration of the Government.

Upon this prepoſterous Foundation they built the Illegitimate Structure of Abſolute Undiſputed Obedience; for if Kingly Power were once prov'd to be immediately deriv'd from Divine Authority, Abſolute Obedience wou'd be a Conſequence no Body cou'd diſpute, ſince the ſame Obedience without Reſerve wou'd be due to the Delegated Power, as to the Power Delegating.

And tho' this is a Point eaſily enough confuted, yet being willing to keep the preſent Diſpute within as ſmall a Compaſs as we can, I think our Argument has nothing at all to do with it.

Whether Government be of Divine Origi-

nal or not, ſeems not the Queſtion here; for if it be not ſo, then, as before, the Church of *England* have been Miſtaken, and Impoſed upon; and if it be ſo, then the Church of *England* has trampled under Foot their own Doctrine, turn'd Rebels to God, and Apoſtates from the Faith they have profeſt, have Sacrilegiouſly and Traiterouſly taken up Arms againſt their Prince, aſſaulted the Lord's Anointed, *reſiſted the Powers which are the Ordinance of God*, depoſed their Lawful Sovereign, broken their Allegiance, and conſequently *are a Parcel of Perjur'd Rebels*; every Jot as bad as the worſt Roundhead Regicide, and Rebel of the Year Forty One.

What more or leſs can be ſaid I profeſs I know not, and am in great Expectation of ſomething new in the Matter; for I cannot find in all the Writings I have met with any thing to contradict it.

The bringing Government and Obedience to the proper Circumſtances of mutual Compact between King and People, ſeems to me to be the only Method to unravel this Skein of entangl'd *Principles*; the Nature of Government has made it the neceſſary Conſequence of all Argument relating to Power; and I cou'd give Inſtances in all the Nations in the World, that ſome time or other, even the Right of Succeſſion to Government, *which*

must be as sacred as the Power, has been Interrupted and Limited by the People, in case of Tyranny and Illegal Governing; and every Nation, *and this among the rest*, has oftentimes Depos'd their Princes for the Preservation of the State, when either Incapacity for Government, Tyrannical Usurpation, or other Male-Administration, has been the Case.

But this I think also needless here; every one that is vers'd in History can read the numerous Examples in the Roman, Grecian and Persian Histories, *even Sacred Histories, where Kings were more particularly of Divine Right than anywhere*, are full of them; the Histories of *Spain*, *Portugal*, *France*, *Lombardy*, the Empires of *Germany* and *Muscovy*, even the Papal Chair, have suffer'd Convulsions and Revolutions, the Deposing and Displacing their Soveraigns, when the People's Good, *which is, and ever was, the Soul, the Center, the End, and the Cause of all Government*, came to be in the Dispute.

But to return to the Principles of the Two Parties we are now discoursing of; the Whigs, as before, have always asserted this to be their Notion of Government and Governors; and the Church of *England*, *however some among them have topt an empty Notion upon them*, have all along, and *now at last once for all*, own'd it by their *Practice*,

That Kings when they deſcend to Tyranny,
Diſſolve the Bond, and leave the Subject free.
True-born Eng. Man, *P.* 47.

The Act for the further Limitation of the Crown paſt in the laſt Parliament, and the Right of the *People* therein Declar'd and Recogniz'd, I wou'd ask my Opponent whoſe Act and Deed it was? Will they ſay it was a Whiggiſh Act, made by a Phanatical Houſe of Commons? *I dare ſay there was not Ten Diſſenters in the Houſe*; let them deſcend with us into Particulars, let them draw out a *Black Liſt* of Members, who in that Loyal Honeſt Engliſh Parliament gave their Hands to the laſt Settlement and Declaration of Right, and let us *tell Noſes*, and put a Brand upon the *Phanaticks* among them.

Will they tell us it was a *Phanatical Parliament* that ſet the Crown upon the Queen's Head? I hope they will own Her Majeſty and their Lordſhips the Biſhops are part of the Church of *England*; for if the Head and the principal Members are not, we know not who are.

Will they tell us that Sir *E. S.* Sir *B. S.* Sir *J. B.* Mr. *H----y*, Sir *C----r M------ve*, and a Hundred more of that Side, were Whigs and Commonwealth-men?

How

How comes it to pass in *England* that no Papist can inherit? *Divine Right* ought to supercede all Precautions, and the *young Prince of* Savoy, not the *House of* Hannover, ought to reign with a *Non Obstante* to all Humane Limitation, if all was from Heaven: Where are our Right-Line-Men now! Why, truly the Reason is plain, the *Church of* England, *People of* England, *a Church of* England *Parliament of England*, have thought fit to declare, that for the Good of the People, *to which all Right of Succession to Power must give way, because from them all Power it self does derive*, and by the Voice of that People (in which Authority sufficient is Legally Grounded) it is Unanimously agreed, that *we will not have a Papist to Reign over us.*

All this is too plain to admit of a Dispute; and now to me it seems Preposterous why any Men shou'd keep up the Distinction between Parties as to Loyalty, when indeed there is no manner of Difference in the Case.

I have talk'd several times of Bearing, Suffering, being Persecuted and Oppress'd, as the Dissenters in their time have been more than enough, and again in their Turn the Church of *England* have been Persecuted too; for as I noted before, they were once the *Schismaticks*, the *Whigs*, and the *Dissenters*. Now I think 'tis not very foreign to my Argument, to examine whether of the Two behav'd themselves

ſelves under their Sufferings with the greateſt Submiſſion, who ſhow'd moſt Abſolute Obedience to their Superiors, and who *firſt, or ofteneſt rebell'd* againſt their Lawful Sovereign.

The Proteſtants under *Henry* VIII. were the firſt Diſſenters; they were kept Under, Perſecuted, and put to Death as Rebels and Schiſmaticks. Now upon due Search it will be found, that under the Protection of Two Proteſtant Queens, Wives of King *Henry* VIII. they had more than once form'd ſuch Intereſt at Court, and in the Kingdom, as to begin to be formidable to the Popiſh *P*owers then reigning; and the Fall of the Lord *Cromwell* was thought a neceſſary Policy in King *Henry*, to prevent the Plots of the *Phanatical Church of England Hereticks*; a long Account of which may be read in the Life of that *P*rince.

King *Edward* the VI. a Zealous and Pious *P*rince, made no Scruple for the Propagation of the *P*roteſtant Church of *England*, of which he was the Glorious Founder, to ſet Aſide the Lawful and Undiſputed Succeſſion of his own Siſters, to Eſtabliſh the Crown in the Lady *Jane Grey*, who he know wou'd carry on the Work of Reformation.

There's an Inſtance of the Zeal for Succeſſion in the Right Line, in the Firſt Proteſtant Head that ever the Church of England *had.*

After

After this, the Goſpellers, *that is, the Church of* England *Proteſtants of* Suffolk, having ſome Sence of Injury done to the *Princeſs Mary*, and willing to have the Succeſſion go on in the Right Line, provided they cou'd both *Preſerve* their Religion and Loyalty too, Capitulate with her, and Promiſe to ſtand by her, provided ſhe wou'd Promiſe to Preſerve, and make no Alteration in their Eſtabliſh'd Church of *England*.

Here the Church of *England* Men own'd the Liberty of their Religion to be Superior to their Loyalty to her; and that they had a Right to Submit, or not to Submit, as their Liberty was, or was not, Secure; and accordingly Condition'd with her, before they wou'd Acknowledge her to be their Queen.

And we ſee how Heaven puniſh'd them for venturing on the Word of a *Prince* when their Religion and Liberty was at Stake.

In this Queen's Time the Church having been again Suppreſs'd, and *Popery* Erected, Sir *Thomas Wyatt*, an honeſt Church of *England* Proteſtant, with a very good Body of Men, took up Arms againſt their Lawful Prince, for breaking her Word in Defence of *their Dear Religion, Eſtabliſh'd by Bleſſed King Edward*, which were the very Words of the Manifeſto they *Publiſhed*: The Londoners,

with 800 Men, ſent by the Queen againſt them, thought it no Treachery to Deſert their Lawful Popiſh Queen, and go over to their Proteſtant Church of *England* Brethren.

We have nothing to do with the Juſtification of this Fact; 'tis ſufficient that ſo it was, and that theſe were Proteſtants of the Church of *England*, in the firſt and pureſt Part of their Principles, and let them juſtifie the Fact if they pleaſe.

Queen *Elizabeth* Succeeds, and then the Church of *England* ſhone in its Meridian Glory, and then grew up ſome, who aiming, *as I ſaid before*, at a further Reformation; and the Church refuſing to hearken to it, form'd a new Party of Diſſenters, and theſe were call'd *Puritans*, and ſince that *Phanaticks*.

Now I Challenge the Defender of this Cauſe to tell me one Diſloyal Act, one Plot againſt the Government, one Diſturbance of the Civil Peace, among theſe Diſſenters, from the beginning of this Queen, which was their own beginning, to the Reign of King *Charles* I. which was a continu'd Term of 80 Years, and yet, during this time, they ſuffer'd all manner of Indignities, Reproaches, Finings, Impriſonings, Baniſhment, Confiſcations, and Corporal Puniſhments.

So that hitherto the Paſſive Obedience of the Diſſenters hath far exceeded that of the Church of

of *England*. These had but Five Years Oppression under Queen *Mary*, and in that Five Years they once Capitulated with their Soveraign to make her Queen upon Conditions, and once took Arms against her after she was Queen; and *by that* I must always understand, that if they did not Depose and Destroy her, it was because they cou'd not; *and if they had done it, no doubt they had Cause sufficient to justifie them before God and Man.* The Puritans after this suffered all that their *too cruel Brethren* of the Church of *England* laid upon them during Three tedious Reigns, before they so much as made the least offer at doing themselves Justice; and for 80 Years together exercis'd that Passive Obedience which they never pretended too.

At last they took Arms; and when they did, they did it to Purpose, carried all before them, subdued Monarchy, cut off their King's Head, and *all that.*

After the Restoration things began to return to their old Channel, and 30 Years more the Dissenters endur'd another Egyptian Servitude; were Persecuted, Plunder'd, Indicted, Imprison'd, Plagu'd with Impositions, Stigmatiz'd with a Thousand Reproaches; their Meeting-houses Demolish'd, their Estates Confiscated, their Persons Excommunicated, and Anathematis'd, Sworn into Plots they never heard of, and into Crimes they never Committed, Dragg'd to Goals, Gibbets and Scaffolds, and the like. *All this while Passive Obedience, if there were any such thing*, was found among them more than anywhere else; for here was no Rebellions no Insurrection, nor breaking of the Peace by the Dissenters notwithstanding all these Oppositions.

After this comes King *James* the Second to the Crown, and he turn'd the Scale, and, together with Invasion of Liberty, falls upon the Church, begins to Rifle her of her Trophies, *for no Essentials had been touch'd*, and how long did She bear it? Not 80 Years, not 30 Years, no, not so many Months.

What did she do? Truly nothing but what she ought to have done; Defend her Liberty and Religion by Force, against Unjust Invasion and Tyranny; nothing but what all the Nations in the World have done, and wou'd do again if they cou'd.

The only Error we Charge upon the Church of *England*, was setting up Pretences of what they really wou'd not Practice; crying up themselves for Fools, when we knew they were Wiser Men; calling themselves Humble Slaves, but when the Trial came, proving Stubborn, Refractory, *Liberty-Mongers*, even as bad as the worst Whig or Phanatick of them all.

For the future, then if a Humble Moderator might be permitted to give Advice to the Gentlemen of the Church of *England*, it shou'd be in these short and friendly Terms.

Pray Gentlemen never be Imposed upon, to pretend to more Loyalty and more slavish Principles than you intend to Practice.

Never pretend to more Obedience than your Sovereign Requires. Our Late King, who I am not asham'd to show as a Patern for future Ages, requir'd; and Her Present Majesty, *without Affront to Her Majesty's Authority it may be said*, requires no further Obedience from the People of *England* than the Laws of *England* requires.

To Govern according to Law, is a full Satisfaction to the People, and to Obey according to Law, is a full Satisfaction to the Sovereign. The Laws are the Test both of the Royal Authority, and of the Subjects Obedience; and to pretend to more Obedience than the Law requires, is abusing your Prince, and abusing your Selves.

Never be asham'd to own with *your Brethren the Whigs*, that you are willing to Submit to Authority, but that you expect to be govern'd according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm.

Let the Scotch Motto be set upon your Liberties, and according to your constant Practice, *as well as ours:* Let all Men know you design to make it Good. *Nemo me Impune Lacessit.*

And as it really never was the Principle of the Church of *England*, *nor were a hundreth Part of the Members of the Church tainted with it*; so for the Future 'tis hoped you will not suffer such to Mingle themselves among you, or to Act in the Name of the Church of *England*, who pretend to a Blind Absolute Obedience to Princes.

And *Lastly*, Gentlemen, a little more Modesty to your Humble Servants your Protestant Brethren, the Dissenters, or Whigs; I mean as to Matter of Loyalty: For in Truth, Gentlemen, we do not see any Reason you have to Reproach us in that Matter, you being in every Particular as faulty that way as your Neighbours.

FINIS.